

the Anatomy  
of Misery



John C. Kenworthy
























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Owing to the many difficulties attending the publication through ordinary channels of Works, which, like those of JOHN RUSKIN and WILLIAM MORRIS, advocate a revolution of Reason in Economics, Literature, and in Life and its Arts generally, I find it advantageous, and indeed necessary, to take into *my own control* the *publication* of my Writings, in Prose and Verse, and also of my Designs and Pictures. My address for this purpose, and for the present, is (by the kindness of "The CLARION" Board of Control) at

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JOHN C. KENWORTHY.

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# THE ANATOMY OF MISERY: PLAIN LECTURES ON ECONOMICS.

BY

JOHN C. KENWORTHY.

With important Comments by COUNT LEO. TOLSTOY  
and DR. ALFRED RUSSEL WALLACE.

---

I cannot but believe that the wide circulation of this book will have a profound effect upon the social movement at the present juncture, and in the future; succeeding as it does to the tradition of CARLYLE and KINGSLEY, RUSKIN and MORRIS and returning to the yet profounder and more venerable tradition of the CHRIST.

**Of the many and unanimously favourable reviews which appeared on the first issue of this work, the following, from "*The Daily Chronicle*" of 23rd August, 1893, is selected to reproduce here:—**

"The Anatomy of Misery" is a little volume on a big subject by a man with a rare gift of lucid exposition. Mr. Kenworthy is one of the praiseworthy group of "Mansfield House men" who are doing so much to spread the light of true Social Reconstruction in Canning Town, and his book is the quintessence of ten years' study and teaching of economics in that connection. It is but the skeleton of economic science; but the articulation of every joint is displayed so skilfully that any reader of even moderate information and intelligence will readily be able to clothe it with flesh and blood for himself. At any rate, the ordinary lecturer who addresses the "masses" will certainly find it invaluable if he simply follows and carefully expands the elaborate "Summary of Contents," part by part, chapter by chapter, and section by section for the benefit of his hearers.

By this time we are all pretty familiar with the economic positions of the young lions of Fabianism and Social Democracy, but Mr. Kenworthy's attitude towards the grand problem is different. The former are all State Collectivists, and hope by capturing the "legislative machine," to attain their ends. Mr. Kenworthy, on the contrary, has no faith whatever in the "machine," which he regards as in itself a thing of evil. He is in point of fact that rarest of economic *rara aves* a Christian Communist-Anarchist. He believes neither in violent revolution, political action, nor in any principle of authority whatever, except that of the Moral Law, which says, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself."

A system like ours can only be carried on by unwholesome methods. The methods of injustice and oppression are, and always must be, deceit and corruption; whether known by their plain names, or as "diplomacy" and "conciliation." In the atmosphere of politics the upright reformer cannot live and work; he loses honesty, purpose, and sight of his ends. It is impossible to fight the system with its own weapons; one cannot touch pitch without being defiled. Those who are most intimate with the Labour movement best know the helplessness of Labour against a corrupt propertied-class Parliament; they know that the only possibly successful political action is that which will result from the creation of a sound public opinion that shall sweep away the whole present machinery of government.

The aim, however, of Christian anarchy does not differ materially from that of Collectivism. The cleavage is in method and spirit. The one is voluntary Collectivism, with "love" for its

watchword; the other, compulsory Collectivism, with "justice" for its touchstone. The Christian Anarchist has no use for the State at all; to the ordinary Collectivist the State is as necessary as to the ordinary Individualist. "Behold, the Kingdom of Heaven is within you," says the one. "Behold, the Kingdom of Heaven is outside of you," says the other. Anarchist and Collectivist equally seek the happiness of the people by operating on their environment; but the former contends that man makes his environment, whereas the latter holds that he is made by it.

Yet it is difficult to apprehend why there should be such a bitter feud between Anarchist and Collectivist, at least at the present stage of economic evolution. Both parties seek to get rid of the institution of private property, the one without the aid of the State machine, the other by means of it; but neither can hope to achieve so vast a revolution till the popular mind is thoroughly saturated with the communistic idea, which it requires no small degree of intelligence to grasp in its integrity. To-day is the seed-time of ideas, when the utmost toleration should be extended to every sower who is in earnest—more toleration of a surety than was shown by the dogmatic Collectivists who the other day violently ejected the handful of Anarchists, as intelligent and sincere as themselves, from the Zurich Congress.

But we are digressing from Mr. Kenworthy, whose lectures, though severely analytical, are redolent of the spirit of charity and goodwill. Indeed if they have any particular fault it consists in their not being mordant enough, in being made so "plain" as to necessitate almost no effort of attention on the part of the reader. To make an "Anatomy of Misery" read as smoothly as a circulating library novel is almost a mistake. It informs but does not exhilarate, and the social reformer should not merely strive to instruct, but to stir up righteous indignation as well. But to come to the kernel of Mr. Kenworthy's argument.

We distinguish, then, between custom, which is the direct will of the people, enforced by spontaneous action; and the force-law, which is the will of a class enforced by organised violence. These are, in principle, the only two forms of government the world has known, though there have been many variations and combinations of these. We must choose between custom and force-law. To the mass of the people to-day, even to the oppressed labourers, the idea of dispensing with force-law seems absurd. They cannot conceive of a state of society where there is no physical compulsion behind the law. They imagine that the present force-law restrains men from injuring each other, and prevents society from falling to pieces. The facts are just the contrary. Our force-law enables the maintenance of a state of things which would instantly disappear if made subject to the free action of public opinion. Primitive history

and poetry recall a golden age that had passed. It was the age of custom. Poetry and prophecy to-day look forward to a golden age—the age of custom that shall be. The earth will see that age when men shall learn that force is no remedy, and that social salvation can only come through the keeping of peace and government by goodwill. Let us withdraw from law the compulsion of force, whereby the ruling classes are secured in their possessions and powers, and let men freely adjust themselves to each other and to Nature. This is our destiny.

According to this view, what Christ denounced as “mammon” and the “world” is none other than the “private property” which the State, with all its judges, magistrates, policemen, soldiers, gaolers, and hangmen, exists to protect. And “mammon” is a costly potentate, whose exactions our author illustrates in this concrete form :

The money-cost of, say, the overcoat you buy, may be roughly analysed as follows :—

Wages of Labour .....	29s.	About one-third.
Rent .....	12s.	} About two-thirds,
Interest and Profit .....	34s.	
Government Taxes .....	5s.	
Total .....		80s.

The State, by enforcing contracts involving rent, usury, and profit, in the interests of the lords of land and capital, thus trebles the cost of the coat, and as a consequence the majority of the workers have no overcoats at all to their backs. In a word, “the State is the evil.” It is at the root of all our miseries, Mr. Kenworthy reasons, and we naturally turn to him for some method of redress, of abolition, if needs be. Here, in brief, is his simple remedy, and we must leave every one to judge of its adequacy for himself :—

Certain rules of conduct must needs be observed by each individual. For our own sakes and our neighbours’ sakes the laws of health must be followed—temperance, cleanliness, activity. To the same end the true principles of economy must be obeyed—“Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself,” “From each according to his capacity, to each according to his need.” Only persons who are simple, truthful, kind and unselfish can obey these laws. Through disobedience to these laws our society is perishing; the only hope of salvation is in returning to them.

Alas, alas! narrow is the way that leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it. Mr. Kenworthy’s little volume will not we fear, be very acceptable to good Collectivists; but it is an earnest, able, single-minded effort to grapple with our economic Giant Despair, and we bespeak for its propositions careful consideration.



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The Problems of Social and Economic Reforms, treated analytically and by strictest process of logic in the "Anatomy of Misery," are here again presented from the point of view of the Feeling, the Humane Emotion, they should, and with many, do, arouse.

Of many considerable reviews, the following, from "THE GLASGOW HERALD," of 15th April, 1894, is typical:—

"From Bondage to Brotherhood." This is emotional socialism of the most effusive character. The object of the book, as set forth in the preface, is to arrive at the best practical application of the principles advanced in "The Anatomy of Misery," so that the reader unacquainted with that previous work by the same author is at some disadvantage. In brief, however, the design of that work was to show the nature and causes of the present "social disaster" by using the methods and terms of political economists. And now, as he thinks, having given reason full and fair play, he brings into service a passion of devotion that he thinks may well be called religious. "Not coldly or compromisingly, then, but fervently and completely we need to throw ourselves into the war against injustice and misery. For our help in that war we gather from history the experience of nations; from the revelations of our prophets, dead and living, we derive wider conceptions and nobler motives; through conforming our lives to the highest principles and ideals discoverable by us, we achieve what is in our power for the regeneration of society, becoming centres of reconstruction in all affairs which are touched by our activities." In these impassioned words the reader will find the "note" of the work. The peculiar turn of mind of the writer is further exhibited in the titles which he gives to the sections of his treatise, such as "The House of Bondage," "The Charmed Circle and the Woeful Pit," "The Hand of Greed and the Coming Chaos," "The Devil's Bible and the Parson's Gospel," "The Land Beautiful," "The Fountain of Delight," "The Flower of Humanity," etc., etc. Who does not know the kind of thing who has ever dreamed with Ruskin or Morris? So far as one can gather any flotsam and jetsam of purpose in the

rushing stream of emotion, the author seeks to lay down as the rule of life a very literal, and sometimes questionable, reading of the Sermon on the Mount. And then the work and the salvation of every body will be to "create brotherhood." The escape from bondage will be into a sort of idealised co-operative society, which, of course, will work to perfection, and there will be no more tears. The author protests that the scheme of the Social Brotherhood is neither fanatical nor undirected enthusiasm. One thing, however, it seems to ignore, and that is the natural "cussedness" of the creature man.

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## By the late James Ashcroft Noble in "THE ACADEMY."

July 16th, 1892.

"Amgiad and the Fair Lady, and other Poems." By John C. Kenworthy. (New Jersey: Englewood Press). Though this tastefully-attired little volume comes to us from across the Atlantic, Mr. Kenworthy is an Englishman, and his first book of verse, "The Judgment of the City," was published in this country. It contained some fine work, which was rendered striking and interesting by its singular freedom from the influence of those great contemporary poets whose cadences are more or less distinctly echoed by nearly every member of the crowd of young versifiers. Its main defect was as aggressive austerity, made manifest in a certain ruggedness which, by a very little care might easily have been removed; and it appeared as if Mr. Kenworthy were unduly anxious to show his disdain for that mere "finish" which, tho' not the *summum bonum* in art is far from being the despicable thing which he seemed to consider it. His new book proves that he has outgrown this mood of revolt, for in it the art is as fine and careful as the matter is winning—lovely things of thought and vision are commended by grace of form, melody of music, exquisiteness of phrase. The title poem and "A Day of Wine," which precedes it, deal with Oriental motives, and we discern very clearly the influence of Omar Khayyam and other Eastern singers, just as, in the lyrics which compose "A Love Passage," there are various suggestions of Heine and at least one reminder of a very different man, Ralph Waldo Emerson. "Amgiad and the fair Lady" is a miniature drama from the "Thousand and One Nights," having for its theme the adventure of the exiled Moslem prince, Amgiad, who finding his way un-awares into the city of the fire-worshippers and into the house of Bahder, master of the horse to the King, slays the beautiful woman who has beguiled him in order to preserve the worthless life of an old man. It is a subject which would have appealed to Matthew Arnold, and its treatment in his hands would have been characterised by a dramatic subtlety and intensity which Mr. Kenworthy cannot achieve; but here as elsewhere, he manifests that fine lyrical faculty which was not wholly disguised, even by the wilful roughnesses of his early volume.

\* \* \* \* \*

It is, however, in "The Day of Wine" that Mr. Kenworthy is seen at his best; and to save space we forego comment and quote three stanzas, which will serve to show the quality of his work.

\* \* \* \* \*

It is not, we think, too much to say that these are stanzas which Keats would not have been ashamed to own.

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A group of essays and fragments which are to be read as introductory to the completer books. The first edition of this was soon exhausted, and no reprint was made, through the neglect of those who had undertaken to promote the publication of my writings generally. Various important Essays, and a small volume of Letters, entitled “**LETTERS TO THEKLA**,” are also waiting for publication as soon as resources permit, and it is hoped the near future may see the production of a work in Philosophy, similar to “**THE ANATOMY OF MISERY**” in treatment of its subject, to be called

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# THE ANATOMY OF MISERY:

## PLAIN LECTURES ON ECONOMICS.

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That weighs us down who live and earn our bread."*

WILLIAM MORRIS.

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Plain lectures on Economics.

BY

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### I Dedicate

THIS SECOND EDITION

OF

"THE ANATOMY OF MISERY"

TO MY FRIEND

J. KEIR HARDIE,

WHOSE CONDUCT IN AND OUT OF PARLIAMENT,

KNOWN TO ME THESE EIGHT YEARS,

PERSUADES ME

THAT WE PARTAKE OF THE ONE SPIRIT

AND ARE LARGELY UNITED

IN OUR AIMS.



## PREFACE.

---

DURING an experience of ten years or more in the study and teaching of Economics, I have felt the great need of a short and simple work which shall present the best results of the science in a form acceptable and useful to the man of intelligence and of ordinary information. Considering the present chaotic and, at best, fragmentary condition of this branch of knowledge, I trust there is no presumption in the hope that this book may, in some measure, supply the need.

My especial hope is that those who devote themselves to the work of spreading sound doctrines of Social Reconstruction, will find in these pages a guide to the teaching of Economics in classes, as well as a statement of principles which they will feel justified in putting into the hands of those whom they wish to convert to the better way.

To secure a clear and coherent presentment of the social structure, I have omitted many details. Nothing, however, is left out, I believe, which cannot be better studied after the main principles are thoroughly grasped. For a proper understanding of the plan of the book, the Table of Contents should be carefully considered.

Those who call themselves Christians will, I trust, find nothing herein which is not wholly in harmony

with the Gospel of Christ, Who has enjoined upon us the study of the facts of life, and of things past, present, and to come: saying, "EVERY SCRIBE WHO HATH BEEN MADE A DISCIPLE TO THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN, IS LIKE UNTO A MAN THAT IS A HOUSEHOLDER, WHICH BRINGETH FORTH OUT OF HIS TREASURE THINGS NEW AND OLD."

JOHN C. KENWORTHY.

CANNING TOWN,  
LONDON, E.  
*July, 1893.*





## PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION.

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THE first edition of "The Anatomy of Misery," numbering two thousand copies, was exhausted nearly three years since, and as demand for it still arises, this second edition is issued. I would not say that mere demand for the book justifies the republication; beyond that, I am to-day more than ever clearly and firmly convinced that the view of Economics herein contained is the truth; the whole truth, so far as Economics extend. This may seem a bold, some may even think an immodest, assertion; but I make it after six years of publicity, during which the usual tests of criticism have been applied; and I find nothing to change, nothing to modify, nothing even necessary to add. I have thought of making some trifling alterations, but after all, I fear to mar a work which was done with a devotion and prolonged intensity that cannot be applied to the same subject twice in the one lifetime.

No word of appreciation won by the book has, to me, seemed happier than that of one of our best-known economists, who said, "It is the first time Ruskin has been reduced to system." To achieve this, was my conscious effort; and I believed, and still believe, that this systematisation, not present in Ruskin, has in one all-important direction, enabled the penetration of the structure of Economics even further than is effected by "Unto this Last." This penetration leads to the discovery in full significance

of *organised physical force* as the basis on which our society at large rests, and upon which, therefore, present economic relations are built; and leads, further, to a revived understanding of the Christian doctrine known as "Non-resistance to evil." I had not realised how completely the position thus disclosed is the position taken these twenty years past by Leo Tolstoy, until this book established with him that friendship which has been an inexpressible encouragement and source of strength to me. With the names of Ruskin and Tolstoy I would wish "The Anatomy of Misery" to be always associated.

That which modern training specially cultivates, namely, the incapacity to take large grasp of a subject, leads me to warn certain readers that they will largely miss whatever good may be in the book for them, unless they master it *as a system*. On this account, it is well to point out the method I have followed. This is, first, to take a simple, indisputable principle, which, in the abstract, all must agree to be necessary to the best social practice. That society should be organised for the equal welfare of all its members (a maxim given in many and ancient forms, such as, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself") is such a principle. With this as our scalpel, we proceed to anatomise, limb by limb, the diseased body social, ascertaining the nature and extent of the disease in each part, by comparison with a healthy body, part with part. The healthy body social, truly, does not yet exist in practice; but we create it in imagination, through power of feeling and of reason; for it is not difficult to see what Society would be, if constructed throughout with faithful regard to the simple, indisputable first principle of right.

Economics appears to have never yet been systematised; the cause being that the subject has never yet

been treated dispassionately from the point of view of its necessary, and only possible, first principle. But in these following pages (with whatever casual defect), that systematisation is effected; with the result that, out of Economics, the question of Religion (by which is meant, the right understanding and conduct of life as a whole) is seen to arise. And it is at last seen that no economic solution is possible, except as flowing from a prior solution of this question of Religion.

If an adversary would attack any one or other of the presentations in this book, he must do so by disestablishing its first principle, for everything contained in it results from acceptance of the maxim "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself."

The whole of the presentations in this book are based upon known and undisputed facts and statistics, which I hope to be able to add as an Appendix to a future edition.

On the pressing question of practical work in Reform. I refer the reader to the Appendix, containing Dr. A. R. Wallace's suggestions for a Socialist Political Programme, and my assent thereto.

I may mention that the more particularly Moral and Religious considerations advanced in this work are excellently discussed in *The Candlestick*, a bi-monthly journal published by Mr. W. L. Hare, of Derby.

JOHN C. KENWORTHY.

PURLEIGH, ESSEX.

February, 1900.



# INTRODUCTION.

By COUNT LEO TOLSTOY.

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“EXCUSE the length of this letter. I have not had time to make it shorter,” wrote De Maistre to his King.

Nothing demands so much time and pains as brevity of treatment of a weighty matter, be it in a diplomatic letter or in a work of learning. Yet in the learned world, and consequently in society, an idea has found its way that only massive volumes can be works of authority.

This little book stands evidence to the contrary. It not only offers the reader more solid matter than volumes upon volumes of works written on the same theme, but does what multi-volumed works on political economy do not do,—it states economic problems clearly and simply. Any one who reads this book with unprejudiced mind and sincere desire to find answers to the problems which confront people of our times, will find those answers, and will arrive at a clear understanding of things which most people imagine to be difficult and obstruse. He will find also moral guidance and stimulation to good.

We should all like our social arrangements better ordered than they are now. To move in this direction we must ourselves become better. It is the only way. There is no other.

It is this simple truth, which, however, we always forget, that is with clearness and convincing power, set forth by the present work.

YASNAYA POLYANA,

LEO TOLSTOY.

*2nd June, 1900. (O.S.)*





# THE ANATOMY OF MISERY:

PLAIN LECTURES ON ECONOMICS.

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## **PART I. PRINCIPLES.**

## DECLINE AND FALL.

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WHEN Rome went down, there was no fall  
Of noble men from worthy state ;  
Slaves and oppressors perished then,  
Whose baseness drew on their huge fate.

She the world-conquering city, sank ;  
Unjust, rich, poor, full populous ;  
Her virtue and her valour gone,  
The dregs of ancient Romulus.

My England ! Rome has proved in vain  
The wisdom that a nation needs,  
For in her steps thou reelest down  
The road that to destruction leads !

Scorner of wise and honest ways—  
New Babylon—the whole world's mart—  
Oh, what a land thou might'st have been !  
Behold the cankering realm thou art.

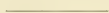


# THE ANATOMY OF MISERY:

## PLAIN LECTURES ON ECONOMICS.



### PART I. PRINCIPLES.



#### CHAPTER I.—FIRST PRINCIPLE.

1. In these lectures I shall try to state, in good order and plain words, the best results which have so far been obtained from the study of Economics. My aim is to help you, who have neither time nor books for much study, to lay hold of, and make your own, truths which are not, in themselves, doubtful or hard to understand; truths which must be put into practice, if we are to be freed from the uncertainty, poverty, and meanness, which curse the lives of the people. Class-politicians and class-teachers have kept you, and would still keep you, in ignorance and doubt about these truths; the one hope of you,—the People—is, that you may know them, and realise them in practice.

2. The methodical study of facts and principles, and the building up of knowledge by this means, we call Science. Like all other of our Sciences, we trace the beginnings of Economics to the ancient Greeks. With them, Economics at first concerned itself with the good ordering of a man's property and household; it concerned itself with domestic affairs only. But, in time,

the Economists naturally extended their consideration to the affairs of Cities, of States; and the results they obtained in the widened Science have come down to us in their literature.

3. Where the Greeks left the study of Economics, it remained until some century since, when it was again taken up in the modern scientific spirit. The new departure was marked by Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations"; since which time, writer after writer has done his part towards removing error, and discovering truth.

4. It is most needful to remark that there are (broadly speaking) two schools of modern Economists; the one represented by such men as Adam Smith, Ricardo, and J. S. Mill; the other by such as Robert Owen, John Ruskin, and Karl Marx.

5. The former, accurate enough in describing things as they are, failed in their consideration of things as they ought to be. They said, "Let each do the best for himself, and the best will be done for all." They said, "Buy in the cheapest, and sell in the dearest, market." They failed to recognise sufficiently that some men, by the possession of land, capital, or brains, are infinitely better able to look after themselves, in every way, than others who have not these advantages. They propounded maxims of greed to a people the mass of whom were practically slaves to the propertied class. Yet these writers saw the truth much more clearly than is generally supposed, and they must not be held wholly responsible for the misdeeds of the history-defiling capitalists of the Manchester school; who, in the name of Political Economy, have blindly plundered and trodden down their fellow-countrymen during this century.

6. The other school saw vividly, and proclaimed vehemently, in their various ways, that the first question in Economics is a Moral one. They asked, What is the purpose of human life? They answered, Happiness, development, pleasurable activity. They pointed out

that present social conditions are death to these essentials ; that Society must be based on far other principles than those expounded by the Political Economists. Their work has resulted in the resurrection of the old commandment, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself" ; and the restoration of its meaning, which is, that every man shall seek the good of all with whom he has to do, equally with his own good ; doing unto others as he would have others do unto him.

7. A principle more antagonistic to present beliefs and conduct, could not be. Yet, on consideration, what could be more reasonable ? Each one of us owes everything to our neighbours,—the Community in which we live. We are all equally, that is wholly, indebted to each other ; why, then, should not each one do the best he can for others ? Is it not to our interest to have the people about us healthy, happy, intelligent, and capable ? Or is it preferable to live among sickly, miserable semi-idiot ? By neglecting and oppressing our fellow-creatures, we defile our own surroundings, and deeply injure ourselves ; by helping and benefiting them, we create delight about us, and do good to our own souls. We will, then, accept this as our first principle in Economics—"THOU SHALT LOVE THY NEIGHBOUR AS THYSELF" ; and we will understand it as St. Simon did, "FROM EACH ACCORDING TO HIS ABILITY ; TO EACH ACCORDING TO HIS NEEDS."

8. To uninformed persons, this may seem strange and foolish, but be it remembered that every social philosopher worthy of the name has, at least in some degree, admitted, or implied, this principle.

And we further note, that in family life this principle is acknowledged in practice. We account it proper that parents and children, sisters and brothers, forming one family, and living under one roof, should fare alike ; that is to say, the needs of all should be equally well satisfied, even though some members of the family may be incapable or ill-conducted. Also, if a number of people, how-

ever many, are met at table, it is accounted proper that each should give attention to, and be governed by, his neighbours' needs; otherwise there would be a disorderly scramble for the food, some getting too much, others too little, and much being wasted.

Men have come to see that unselfish behaviour is advantageous in the family, and in the lesser social circles; and every thoughtful person perceives that immense advantages would result from the extension of the same principles of behaviour to the affairs of the greater circle of Society—the Nation.

9. Granting then that "Love thy neighbour as thyself" is the perfect, the ideal, law of Society, and the basis of all true Economic principles, this follows: *All Economic questions are wholly dominated by Moral\* considerations.* In other words, we must test every principle, every detail, of Economics by these questions—Is this right? Is this wrong? And, Why right? or, Why wrong?

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\* Morals, or Ethics: the Science which treats of the motives and rules of conduct.

## CHAPTER II.—DIVISION OF LABOUR.

1. Chief among the causes which draw men together, and unite them in Societies, is the advantage to be gained from mutual help in the labours of life. In the savage state, where the individual has, himself, to make or procure everything he uses, life is hard and poor. But as groups of individuals, Communities, are formed, ideas are exchanged, experience is gained, and the many Arts of Cultivation and Manufacture appear. The means by which these Arts become possible is the DIVISION OF LABOUR. It is found that by each worker confining himself to some particular task, or tasks, an immense gain is made in skill; which, by increasing the effectiveness of Labour, enables more, and greater variety of, work to be done.

2. Further growth of experience and ideas leads to the invention of, first, tools, then machines; and at length to the use of natural forces—wind and water power, steam, electricity.

Accumulating inventions and discoveries demand, and enable, an ever increasing Division of Labour; which, in our day, has reached such an extreme that not merely individuals, but great groups of labourers are employed upon some part only of some comparatively trifling article, or in performing some one part of a long series of processes (*e.g.* in pin making, in spinning and weaving).

3. The rise and progress of Production by Division of Labour, calls into being an entirely new kind of Labour, which is required for the process of Distribution. The articles produced by the various groups of workers must be removed from the centres of Production and distributed over the Community as they may be needed.

For this, some system of Exchange is necessary, requiring a further Division of Labour to carry it out; which becomes more and more minute and complicated as the Division of Labour in Production advances.

4. Seeing that life itself is dependent upon the proper carrying out of these processes, it is of overwhelming importance that men should come to an understanding and agreement as to the ends most desirable to be gained in Production and Distribution, and the Principles of Conduct which will best attain those ends.

Carelessness, ignorance, and consequent wrong-doing in regard to these vital matters, are the curse of humanity; they make a load of sorrow, for the lifting of which all good men, the prophets and apostles of reform, have laboured according to their lights.

### CHAPTER III.—WEALTH.

1. The aim of men in all their labours, is to make, and to get, the articles they want for use and enjoyment. The making of these articles Economists call PRODUCTION; the getting of them, they call DISTRIBUTION; the articles themselves they call WEALTH; and the whole scope of Economics is described as THE PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH.

2. Since Wealth, in the two processes of Production and Distribution, is the subject of Economics, it is needful, before going further, to be quite clear as to what we mean by "Wealth." Some writers (*e.g.* the Mercantilists of one and two hundred years ago) have regarded Money—Coin—as Wealth; others, (*e.g.* the Political Economists of this century) have regarded the accumulation of Property—Riches—as Wealth. These two ideas still form the general notion of what Wealth is. But the progress of the Science has now revived (for it is not new) a much better conception, which may be stated thus:—*Wealth (from weal, well) comprises those products of Labour which are good to be used and enjoyed by man.* For example: Food, clothing, houses, tools, books and pictures.

3. Accepting this definition we must at once distinguish between Wealth and what may be called False Wealth (or Illth, as Ruskin terms it). For men are continually producing articles which are *bad* to be used or enjoyed, such as adulterants of food, unhealthy luxuries, pestilential dwellings, bad books and pictures. The characteristic of an article of true Wealth is, that being used and enjoyed by man, it conduces to health, happiness, and development of mind and body. Any article which has not this characteristic is not Wealth.



4. Further, it will be well here to distinguish between two forms of Wealth—the one, comprising articles produced directly for Consumption, such as food, clothing, dwelling-houses; the other comprising articles produced for use in the work of Production and Distribution such as tools, manufactories, warehouses, ships, railways. The former kind may be termed Consumable Wealth, the latter is termed Capital.

5. In articles of Wealth there may be differences in Quality. Thus, there are sound, well-woven cloths, and badly-woven shoddies; substantial, convenient, well-placed houses, and cheap, cramped shells; stout, well-planned ships, and unseaworthy ships.

6. If we consider an article of Wealth, we shall find that its properties, as Wealth, are of two kinds, (*a*) Usefulness, (*b*) Beauty. The essential of Usefulness is, that an article shall perfectly serve a proper purpose; the essential of Beauty is, that it shall be made as healthfully pleasing to the senses as possible. Thus, a comfortable chair of pleasing design and good make, is an article of true Wealth; as is also a noble piece of sculpture. The Beauty of the chair is based upon its Usefulness; the Usefulness of the sculpture is based upon its Beauty.

It is obviously desirable that the Community should be supplied with an abundance of articles of Wealth, of the best Quality, and greatest Usefulness and Beauty.



## CHAPTER IV.—PRINCIPLES OF PRODUCTION.

1. Our inquiry into the principles of Production must naturally take two directions. We ask (1) What articles should be produced? and (2) In what ways should Production be carried on?

(1) What articles should be produced? Obviously, articles of true Wealth, which, as we have previously defined them, are those products of Labour which conduce to health, happiness, and development of men's bodies and minds. Such articles, and no others.

2. But there is a further consideration. It may be more advantageous to the Community that some articles of Wealth should be produced rather than others. Now, the Production and Distribution of any article takes a certain amount of Labour; and this, the amount of Labour put into it, is its true Cost. When produced and distributed there is a certain amount of need for it; it can be put to certain uses; it is worth so much to the Community. This is its true value. It is clearly wasteful to produce an article which Costs more in Labour than its subsequent Value in use.\*

3. As an example, it would be wrong, when there is a scarcity of bread but plenty of whisky, to make corn into whisky; the bread being necessary, and the whisky not so. The worth of the whisky is small—possibly *nil*,—but its Cost is just the Value the bread would have had, if made.

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\* This, the basic truth concerning Cost and Value, is of first importance to clearly understand. It settles once for all the question as vexed by the orthodox economists such as Smith, Mill and Jevons. These writers confuse themselves with the *Monetary* aspect of Cost and Value; which I treat in Part IV., Chapters IV. and V.

4. So that our answer to the question—What articles should be produced? must be, Those articles of Wealth which are best worth the Labour (Cost) of Production.

In what ways should Production be carried on? This question subdivides into two, (a) In what order? (b) By what means?

5. (a) In what order? Some articles are more necessary than others. Food and clothing are prime necessities, and must be first provided. But there are degrees in which different kinds of food and clothing are necessary. Food of some kind, and a garment, are absolutely necessary for all; but elaborate dishes and robes of state are not necessities for any one,—indeed, their use may be absolutely harmful.

6. After the first needs of men are satisfied, however, the provision of pleasant and beautiful things, in a proper order, becomes clearly desirable; and this may continue up to an imagined point at which all man's possible and proper wants are satisfied, and all his capacities fully developed and exercised. Articles of Wealth must then be produced, in order and in quantity, as they are most needed for the welfare of the Community.

7. (b) By what means? Labour, absorbing so large a part of men's time and energies, is in itself a powerful agent in human progress and development; therefore it is of the utmost importance to determine what are the conditions under which Labour should be performed. And the Means of Production which are used, determine those conditions.

8. Labour is an operation of the body and mind. In order that Labour shall be most effective, the Labourer must be physically and mentally at his best. Therefore it is desirable that all Labour should be performed under such conditions as will best enable the maintenance and advancement of the well-being of the Labourers.

9. To this end, it is needful to employ those Means of Production,—methods, tools, and machinery,—which.

while producing the greatest Wealth with the greatest ease, are at the same time the most beneficial to the Labourer; developing his body and mind, and not conflicting with beauty and fulness of life.

10. It is well here to remark that, Life being the object of Labour, it is always better to reduce our wants than to injure body or mind,—that is, to sacrifice Life,—in seeking to satisfy them. At the same time, it is wrong to remain idle when the effort to satisfy our wants will develop us; this, also, is a sacrifice of Life.

## CHAPTER V.—PRESENT PRODUCTION.

1. It will now be useful to examine, by the light of the principles we have arrived at, the System of Production at present carried on.

To begin with, let us enquire how far this System results in the Production of Wealth—of articles which conduce to health, happiness, and development of men's minds and bodies.

As to the necessities of life,—food, clothing, and shelter,—our System of Production is such, that sufficient of these is not forthcoming to satisfy the needs of a large portion of the Community. Every year, the people who die directly of starvation and destitution are counted by hundreds; every year, thousands of people are stinted to death. As regards shelter, there are not enough houses, even of the worst kind, to anything like reasonably accommodate all the population; whole families crowd into single rooms; in one place and another thousands walk the streets nightly, or sleep in the open, having no place of refuge. Those who have any idea of the lives of the mass of the people, know what this dearth of the necessities of life is,—a vast, unceasing horror.

2. But not only does our System of Production fail in supplying these necessities; it diverts the Labour which could supply them into other channels. While bread is wanting, hot-house grapes are grown; while nakedness cries out for clothing, fine silks and court costumes are produced; while the Son of Man hath not where to lay his head, desolate palaces are maintained; while the widow and the fatherless perish, courts of law are multiplied.

3. Further, many of the articles produced under the System are positively detrimental—some extremely so—to the well-being of those who use them. For instance: adulterants of food and drink; unhealthy and effeminating luxuries; debased art; material of war.

4. And again, most of the articles produced are not the best of their kind; they are poor substitutes for the best. For instance: inferior and improper food and drink, shoddy and ill-made clothing, hovels and slums, coffin ships. We have bad material and bad workmanship everywhere. And all this is contrasted with lavish consumption of labour and material in the production of luxuries, and in the maintenance of luxury.

5. Now let us enquire whether Production is carried on by methods and means the most conducive to human well-being.

In every direction we find masses of Labourers alternating between two evils—overwork and idleness. The agriculturist toils while the sun shines, receiving only a miserable subsistence in return; or he stands idle, looking for support to the parish or charity. The majority of other Labourers are no better off than the agriculturist; pleasure in their work, leisure, education, means of enjoyment, are denied to most of them, and limited to the others of them. By these means, not only are the labourers injured as men, but their efficiency as producers is greatly impaired.

6. It has been contended by some that the Unemployed are necessary as a “reserve army” of Labour, to meet the requirements of fluctuating trade. We observe that the rearmost squadrons of this “reserve army” are quartered in workhouses, prisons, brothels, and thieves’ dens.

7. Besides permitting this idleness of the Unemployed, our System enables the existence of another class of idlers—the Rich. These are not only idle themselves, but an immense number of people have no other employment than to make and supply luxuries to them, and to serve them as menials.

8. Of the means of Production employed—tools, machinery, means of transit, etc., for ingenuity and effectiveness, the world has never seen their like. Their invention, elaboration, and general use, are the historical characteristic of the age. Through machinery, natural forces are employed, with enormous power and effect, in nearly every branch of Production. Indeed, the use of machinery and mechanical methods has been so excessive as to result in widespread injury to the minds and bodies of the Labourers, the slaves of the machines.

9. We are sure that the under-production of necessities is not due to the poverty of Nature, because of the fact that the land of our country is cultivated to only a small fraction of its full capacity; much arable land stands idle, and that in use is inefficiently tilled. Nor is it due to want of Labour-power, for the idle Rich, and the Unemployed, are everywhere; and machinery has, in less than a century, increased the effectiveness of Labour at least tenfold.

10. Insufficiency of quantity, inferiority of quality and workmanship, positive harmfulness—these are characteristic of the articles we produce. Overwork, idleness, and injurious conditions affecting the Labourer, characterise the methods we adopt. Enormous efficiency characterises our Means of Production.

We conclude, then, that our System of Production fails in every direction. And this, not from want of resources, power, or means; these being ample beyond measure.

## CHAPTER VI.—PRINCIPLES OF DISTRIBUTION.

1. Having considered the process of Production, we reach the point at which the articles of Wealth produced are lying in the various centres, or places, of Production, waiting to be distributed. We have now to inquire, What principles should govern Distribution?

It will be well, first, to examine the principle advocated by many Social Reformers of what may be called the State-Socialist type. It is, that the total of Wealth belongs of right to the whole number of Labourers who have made it; and as the value of each Labourer's work varies according to his capacity, therefore the claims on Wealth, of the individual Labourers, are correspondingly unequal. This inequality, it is urged, must be recognised in Distribution; and each must receive that value in Wealth to which his work entitles him.

2. Let us consider the practical difficulties in the way of carrying out this principle. We ask, by what means is the value of each man's Labour to be ascertained? and by what means are the values of the various articles of Wealth to be ascertained? On consideration, it will readily be seen that it is impossible to even approximately ascertain these values.

The best suggestion in this direction that has been offered, is to fix the value of each man's Labour by the number of hours worked. But it is clear that some men will do much more valuable work than others in the same time.

It has also been suggested, that the prices for purposes of Exchange of the various articles of Wealth should be



based upon some estimate of the Labour-time they have taken to produce.

Clearly, these are only arbitrary means; which can never, in a complex system of Production and Distribution, attain the desired result of giving each one the equivalent in Wealth of the work he does. We must, then, seek some better principle to guide us in Distribution.

3. We have already agreed that each one of us is indebted for birth and being, for all culture, for all opportunities, to the Community in which we live. In return for these enormous benefits, the Community, in justice, only asks us to use our powers of body and mind in such useful ways, and to such extent, that we may derive the greatest possible health, happiness, and development from our Labour. If, then, each one contributes this just and equal amount of Labour—"from each according to his capacity"—what claim on Wealth can one individual have more than another? If any inequalities of Distribution are justifiable, it is not because the Community is indebted to some of its members more than to others.

4. However, we have seen that it is desirable, for the welfare of the Community, that the wants of all should be equally well satisfied; unsatisfied want in some, being an evil which affects, not only the sufferers, but through them the whole Community. Now we observe that the wants of different individuals are both unequal and dissimilar. Some need more food than others, all do not need the same kind of food; some require less clothing, some more; some desire elaboration in their houses, dresses, etc., others prefer plainness; some like one thing, some like another. If, then, all members of the Community are to be equally well satisfied, it is clear that Distribution must be made according to individual needs.

5. But, it is asked, what about idlers and good-for-nothings? We reply, the Community demands that every member shall work "according to his capacity"; the idler, the good-for-nothing, can therefore have no just claim



on Wealth. But, as the presence of suffering is undesirable to the Community, it would be found expedient to distribute even to these wilfully useless ones; whose number, however, in a properly ordered Society, would be much less than it is in our present social disorder.

6. It is further to be remarked, that one of the first principles guiding a Community which seeks the equal welfare of all, must necessarily be, to abundantly provide for the support and comfort of the aged and infirm, the young and helpless. It would be intolerable that these should suffer.

7. We conclude, then, that the true principles of Distribution are those which have for ages been known as Justice and Mercy; from the practice of which, it results that each receives "according to his need."

## CHAPTER VII.—PRESENT DISTRIBUTION.

1. It is not contended, by any informed person, that there is more than the slightest pretence of Justice or Mercy in the operation of our present System, whether on the side of Production or Distribution. There are rich idlers, and starving idlers; rich workers, and poor workers. Rich people idle or work at their pleasure, and receive a wasteful superfluity of Wealth; the Poor drudge on at nameless and dishonoured tasks, earning at most a bare subsistence for their broken lives, and not always that. There is a Governing and Organising Class, whose power and schemes bring profits and "honours" to themselves; there is a Criminal Class, whose efforts and schemes bring them to prison and disgrace. At the bottom of the social scale are creatures sunk in misery, in huge degradation, unspeakable, heart-breaking to those who know it. At the top, is an aristocracy of birth and property, whose historical characteristics are selfishness, injustice, ignorance, pride, and corruption. Agitations, strikes, riots, rebellions, witness to the relations between the two Classes.

2. The difference between them results from the unequal distribution of Wealth; it is the difference between the Haves and the Have-nots. The Rich Class we find to be composed of Owners of Land (Landlord Class), Owners of Capital (Capitalist Class), Merchants and Traders (Mercantile Class), and Lawyers, Doctors, Clergy, etc. (Professional Class). These are the Monopolists of Land, Capital, Trade, and Education (so-called), respectively.

3. The Poor Class consists of the great rank-and-file of Workers with hand and brain, Skilled and Unskilled;

whose sole possession is that power to Labour which is common to all.

4. It has been computed, and the figures harmonise with facts visible on every hand, that the total annual income of the people of this country (estimated at £1,350,000,000) is divided between the Rich and Poor somewhat as follows:

TO THE RICH CLASS—	
Landlord .....	£220,000,000
Capitalist .....	270,000,000
Mercantile and Professional ...	360,000,000
<hr/>	
Income of the Idle, Ruling, and Organising Classes and their Dependents .....	£850,000,000
TO THE POOR CLASS—	
Wages of Workers .....	£500,000,000
<hr/>	
£1,350,000,000*	

Those who receive the £850,000,000 are estimated to number one-third only of the population, the £500,000,000 going to the other two-thirds. If we divide £100 among three men, in these proportions, we give £64 to one, and divide £36 between the other two,—£18 each.

Another analysis shows that one-half of the total annual income goes to one-tenth of the population. If we divide £100 among ten persons in this proportion, we give £50 to one, and an average of £5 11s. odd to each of the other nine.

5. Among the poor, hundreds of thousands of families, —millions of beings,—are dependent on earnings of under £1 per week. Farm labourers' wages are very much under this figure. In the course of every year, one per-

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\*These figures were taken during 1880-1890. The aggregate income is greater now, but the proportions in which it is divided remain much the same; and must do, under the system.

son out of every eight of the Poor,—the Working Class,—receives parish relief.

6. To this inequality in Distribution, crime, and the degradation of the masses of the people, are directly traceable. Destitution, ignorance, and misery, have produced the so-called Vicious and Criminal Classes.

7. Some attempt at the relief of the destitute, aged, and infirm is made by the Poor-law, and by Churches and other agencies of "private charity." It is safe to say that more than half of the sums raised for this purpose are spent in administering the relief. It is notorious that the most deserving and most urgent cases are the hardest to reach with this relief; the mass of suffering is scarcely touched; servility and imposture are fostered in the recipients; and many of those who give are deluded into the belief that they are doing good; whereas they are simply bolstering up a corrupt System, and perpetuating misery.

8. In favour of the System which produces such results, it is pointed out by some, that were it not for destitution, famine, pestilence, and war, the human race would probably multiply until the earth could support no more of them. The probability is by no means clear; and even were it a certainty, it would seem desirable that we should all, meanwhile, live as full and happy lives as possible; until the time comes when the surplus population must be suppressed. Because the world might some day become over-populated, is no reason for our practising injustice and foolishness, and living miserably, at present. The heartlessness, and consequent folly, of Political Economists is, perhaps, most apparent in their discussions on this point.

9. We conclude that our present System of Distribution is Unjust and Merciless; conspicuously and disastrously failing to circulate Wealth through the Community, so as to supply each one according to his need.

## **PART II. LAW AND PROPERTY.**

## THE PRAYER OF LABOUR.

---

God of the helpless ! on this soil,  
Reft from my sires by fraud,  
Where I in want and darkness toil  
To glut an idle lord !

Here kneeling, I stretch out my hands  
In bitter prayer to Thee !  
Restore, restore my fathers' lands,  
And set the bondman free !

My foes are more than Samson's foes,  
They rob my soul of sight ;  
With chains of law they bind me close,  
And mock my fettered might

Yet woe to them ! My hands shall find  
The pillars ! Presently  
The house shall quake, shall fall, shall grind  
My foes who feast, and me !

Restore my freedom and my sight,  
And turn my wrath away !  
Save me, O God, ere my mad might  
Breaks forth to wreck and slay !

## PART II. LAW AND PROPERTY.

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### CHAPTER I.—LAW, CUSTOM, FORCE-LAW.

1. The failures in Production, and the inequalities in Distribution, which characterise our present System, are stupendous. We ask, why are these evils not remedied? Political agitations, strikes, riots, rebellions, throughout the civilised world, show that the mass of men are vastly discontented with their conditions. An ardent desire to better those conditions is manifest; nor can it be doubted that the intelligence which has organised, and which carries on, the present elaborate and highly complex System, is capable also of remedying the evils of that System. We must believe that the common sense manifested by men in daily life would not tolerate these evils were it not for compulsion of some kind. What is that compulsion? It is the LAW; those enactments of Government—the State—which are maintained by armies and police; by Organised Physical Force. It is Law which, like an Old Man of the Sea, secures itself upon the body of Society by proffering its service; once established, it comes between its victim and every good thing, proving itself a tyrant, hardly to be removed by any revolt.

2. In all countries Law has two main objects: 1. Protection of the person. 2. Regulation of the holding of property. The origin of Law is in tribal Custom, the first object of which is to preserve the Community from the inconveniences and disorders which arise from quarrels and fightings among the members. As the tribe becomes

more settled, and begins to practice cultivation, Custom necessarily arises to regulate the holding of Land (which, under Custom, takes a communal form).

3. So far, Custom is no more than the Will of the People; maintained only by general consent, and enforced directly and spontaneously by the People themselves.

4. But a new state of things arises. As the Community, the State, grows, and social complications multiply; the maintenance, making, and enforcement of the Customs are gradually delegated to specially-appointed persons. In this way arises a ruling class of magistrates, legislators, lawyers, and other functionaries, supported by soldiers and police. To this class, the ordering of Society,—the Government,—is, in effect, handed over.

5. Custom has thus become Law. Every page of history proves that this enormous power given to a class carries with it irresistible temptations to its abuse for selfish ends. The Ruling Class has, everywhere and always, with fatal consistency, shaped the Law to aggrandise itself; and employed the forces of the State to deprive the Ruled of their equal rights, and to keep them in subjection.

6. Thus every Society which has been, and is, governed by this Law—which we call **FORCE-LAW**,—exhibits the same phenomena of two Classes—the Privileged and the Unprivileged, Haves and Have-nots; whose wills are always at variance, and between whom there is always veiled or open war.

7. The truth of this is demonstrated in our own country, and now. A comparatively few people make and administer the Laws, the power of the People in these matters being merely nominal. A small proportion of the Community possess and control all Property, all Wealth; and these are they who actually make and administer the Laws. In support of the Laws thus made, the police are always in evidence; when the police are



inadequate, the soldiery are called upon to suppress, sometimes with bloodshed, the uprising of people who, as strikers, rioters, or rebels, from time to time endeavour to express and enforce *their* wills. Law no longer expresses, as the earlier Custom did, the Will of the People; it is the Will of a Privileged Class, maintained by violence over the rest of the People.

8. In examining the processes of Production and Distribution in greater detail, we shall find constant evidence that their failures and inequalities are due to this operation of Class-made Force-law, which, by maintaining so-called "Rights of Property," deprives the Labourer of his freedom to labour, and diverts from the mass of the People the Wealth which is properly theirs. These "Rights of Property" are, historically, the undue privileges which the Ruling Class have secured to themselves; and it is the fact of this Class being in possession of the State, and all its forces, that "makes calamity of so long life."

9. We distinguish, then, between CUSTOM, which is the direct Will of the People, enforced by spontaneous action; and FORCE-LAW, which is the Will of a Class, enforced by organised violence. These are, in principle, the only two forms of Government the world has known, though there have been many variations and combinations of these.

## CHAPTER II.—USE-POSSESSION: INDIVIDUAL AND COMMUNAL.

1. Custom, or Law,—that is, a Government,—is obviously needed for the guidance of Society in its complicated labours. We have seen that it is by the operation of our System of Force-law that the present disastrous Social conditions are maintained. We have now to seek for the best principles to be followed in the making and maintenance of Custom or Law.

2. For economic purposes we have, of course, only to consider that division of Custom and Law which relates to the Holding of Property. By PROPERTY, we mean *anything that is made the subject of Possession or Ownership*, whether Land, Capital, or Wealth.

3. The things which men seek to Possess, or Own, are those which they consider will be of Use to them. No man cares to Possess things which can be of no Use to him. Use, then, is the reason for Possession, or Ownership. For the welfare of Society, it is clearly desirable that all property, of whatever kind, should be put to the best Use, should be made the most of. Thus, articles of Consumable Wealth,—food, clothing, shelter, etc.,—can obviously be put to the best Use by those who need them most. Similarly, land, tools, machinery, etc., are turned to the best account by those who have the best capacity to Use them.

4. Our principle of Possession, or Ownership, must therefore be, That Property is to be distributed to all

according to their ability to Use it; or, in other words, according to their Capacity and Need. This principle we will term Use-possession.

It follows that some articles, such as food, clothing, houses, etc., will come into the Possession of Individuals. Other articles, such as manufactories, roads, railways, ships, etc., will be Possessed by the groups of individuals who are concerned in their Use. Use-possession will necessarily be Individual, or Communal, as circumstances require.

5. All Custom, Law, Government is right, and good, as far as it tends to promote such a Distribution of Property. It is wrong, and bad, as it leads away from this.

Such are the principles which must guide us in the making of Customs, Laws of Property. But how are these, when made, to be maintained?

6. There are, as we have already seen, two means of accomplishing this, namely, Public Opinion and Force. We must, in fact, choose between Custom and Force-law.

7. To the mass of people to-day, even to the oppressed Labourers, the idea of dispensing with Force-law seems absurd. They cannot conceive of a state of Society where there is no physical compulsion behind the Law. They imagine that the present Force-law restrains men from injuring each other and prevents Society from falling to pieces. The facts are just the contrary. Our Force-law enables the maintenance of a state of things which is contrary to the desires of the great majority, and which would instantly disappear if made subject to the free action of Public Opinion.

8. Primitive history and poetry recall a Golden Age that had passed. It was the Age of Custom. Poetry and prophecy to-day look forward to a Golden Age,—the Age of Custom that shall be. The earth will see that age when men shall learn that Force is no remedy, and that social salvation can only come through the keeping of Peace, and Government by Goodwill.

9. Let us withdraw from the Law the compulsion of Force, whereby the Ruling Classes are secured in their possessions and powers, and let men freely adjust themselves to each other and to Nature. This is our destiny.

## CHAPTER III.—UNLIMITED OWNERSHIP; MONOPOLY.

1. Let us now contrast our present Property Laws with the principle of Use-possession.

Those Laws do not to any degree recognise this principle. They allow absolute Unlimited Ownership of Property, irrespective of the owner's ability to rightly use it. Property may be acquired by inheritance, gift, trading, speculation (or gambling), and undetected fraud; and the Laws confirm it to the Owner, maintaining his virtually absolute powers with the whole force of the State. There is no legal limit to the amount of Property of any kind that may be acquired by an individual.

2. As a consequence, superior force, selfishness, and ability or cunning, have determined the Land, Capital, and Wealth of the country into the hands of the Ruling Class—the Plutocracy. The vast majority of the People have no Property whatever, save a little furniture and clothing; and even at this, many of them are hopelessly in debt to the money-lender, pawnbroker, and shop-keeper. The power of ruling brings riches, and riches themselves give the power to rule; while the destruction of the poor is their poverty.

3. The true nature of our Property Laws is exhibited when the sick and helpless are thrust from their homes on to the roadside; when their beds are taken from under the widow and the orphan; when a hungry man is imprisoned for taking a turnip or a rabbit; when a fortune is made by a pen-stroke or a skilful deceit; when a swindle is perpetrated within the Law, and by means of Law. In the snare of Law, the unjust dealer, the cheat, and the usurer take their victims.

4. The greater part of the crime which occupies our Law Courts, is directly traceable to the action of the Property Laws, which cause destitution and moral degradation. Destitution drives men and women to thieving; misfortune and misery drive them to drink. The hopelessness of life to poor people makes them careless of consequences in every direction; improvidence and the reckless increase of the family are universal among the masses of the poor, this tending further to their enslavement by keeping their Labour in constant over-supply. They have nothing, and they care for nothing.

5. This system of Ownership, which permits individuals to own Unlimited Property without regard to the needs of others, we call Monopoly. The only slight limitations to the powers of Owners under this existing System occur in the case of railways, factories, shipping, and other great public concerns. Here the very existence of Society has made it needful that some bounds be set to the unscrupulous selfishness of private ownership.

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We have now to examine in detail the effect of Unlimited Ownership, Monopoly, on Production and Distribution as carried on at present.

**PART III.    PRESENT PRODUCTION  
EXAMINED.**

## THE MILL.

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Two millstones in a mighty mill  
Grind on unceasingly ;  
The stone beneath is Daily Toil,  
Above, Uncertainty.

The lower stone, in grinding, girds,  
“Cease not, ye Poor, from toil !”  
The stone above for ever groans,  
“With quaking shall ye moil !”

This mill that never rests, grinds out  
Tears, blood, and broken lives,  
And teeming Wealth, that whelms the Class  
That labours not, yet thrives.



## PART III. PRESENT PRODUCTION EXAMINED.

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### CHAPTER I.—FACTORS OF PRODUCTION.

1. We cannot do better than consider Production under the four heads of Labour, Land, Capital, and Demand. If we take a simple piece of work,—ploughing for instance,—we find in it an example of each of these Factors of Production. The ploughman represents Labour; the field represents Land; the plough and horses represent Capital; and the need of the harvest represents Demand.

2. By LABOUR, we mean the powers of mind and body which men employ in their work. Labour is man himself,—his soul, his flesh, and blood,—whose welfare is the whole purpose of all our considerations.

3. By LAND, we mean those Natural Resources which men use in their Labour; such as the food-and-cattle-bearing fields, the deposits of ores and minerals, waters and water-power, advantages of situation.

4. By CAPITAL, we mean those products of Labour which are used in the work of Production and Distribution; such as tools, machinery, manufactories, raw material, railways and other means of transit, ships, warehouses, money.

5. By DEMAND, we mean the human needs and desires which cause, and govern, Production. Thus, hunger needs food, intelligence desires knowledge; and Labour, using Land and Capital, produces bread, produces books, to meet the need and the desire.

6. It is most important to clearly understand the meaning and scope of these four terms. Without doing so, we can have no mastery of our subject. We must avoid the errors of the Political Economists, who consider Labour as an unfeeling, soulless thing, like Land and Capital; and who would make us feel that Landlords and Capitalists are, in some way, necessary adjuncts to Land and Capital; whereas they are but the Monopolists thereof.

## CHAPTER II.—LABOUR.

1. In the ancient and classic times of civilisation (and in the case of negroes, until recently), the Labourer was a Chattel-slave; that is to say, he was an article of Property, sold and bought. In feudal times he was a Serf, attached to the Land; and he belonged, with the Land, to the owner of it. Our modern Society recognises the Labourer's right to own himself. To the propertyless Labourers (the vast majority of the nation), the advantage thus gained is, that instead of being sold and bought by others, the Labourer now sells himself. There is little reason to think that he is better off, except sentimentally and potentially, for the change.

2. The Labourer has thus become subject to Supply-and-Demand. He is bought in the cheapest, and his produce is sold in the dearest, market. As the Supply of him is constantly in excess of the Demand for him, his Price—Wages—is always verging to the Subsistence-point; that is, to the minimum that will keep him alive and working, and permit him to propagate. This condition we call Wagedom, as distinguished from Chattel-slavery and Serfdom.

Although the present effectiveness of Labour is not less than tenfold what it was a hundred years ago, not only men, but women, and children of both sexes, are compelled to Labour at hard and irksome tasks for hours as long as they can endure. An age which boasts of its treatment of their sex, sets women by hundreds of thousands to such tasks as carrying bricks, and forging nails.

3. The only bettering of the Labourer's lot occurs in the case of the few whose superior skill and ability have a scarcity value, and command a superior price (in which way a Labourer is sometimes lifted into the Propertied and Ruling Class); and in the case of a considerable number, who, by combination in Trades Unions, have gained some slight advance on the Subsistence-wage.

4. Until well into this century, Trades Unions were forbidden by Law in this country. They were treated as conspiracies against the welfare of Society, and heavy penalties were imposed on those who so united themselves. The sufferings of the ill-paid and perishing People, did not move the Ruling Class, who desired cheap Labour; and the Labourer's efforts to raise Wages by combination, were treated as criminal. The discontent of the suffering People at length threatened to culminate in national revolt, and Trades Unions were legalised. But not until then.

5. Combination is the Labourer's sole power. The Ruling Class, the Plutocracy, have fought, and still fight, this power, by withholding genuine education from the People; by manipulating the Laws; by delusive promises; and when a combination of the Labourers appear to threaten violence, by soldiers and police.

6. Go into the heart of a great strike, when Government has sent down the troops, when blood is being shed, when Parliament and the newspapers are denouncing the violence of the mob. See what the needs of the strikers are; listen to their tales; and if you have a heart, though you may have come to curse, you will remain to bless. Go into the people's dwellings, and examine their lives. Compare what they possess, with what they might, and should, possess. Want, labour, anxiety, and ignorance, have done their work upon them, have written on their bodies and souls the accusation of the Ruling and Propertied Class and the System they have made.

7. Such is the condition of Labour, under our Class-made and Force-maintained Property Laws. The effect of Chattel-slavery and Serfdom was, that after the Slave, or Serf, had produced enough to keep himself alive in a condition to propagate, the rest of what he produced belonged to his owner. This is precisely the effect of Wagedom. The Labourer is still a Slave; he sells himself by the hour, day, or week to an Employer; after returning him a bare Subsistence-wage, the Employer retains the whole remainder of the Labourer's product. Formerly it was the Labourer's person that was owned; now, it is the Land and Capital which are necessary to him. The effect is the same.

8. The use of machinery and mechanical processes have largely destroyed the Labourer's skill as an artisan; his task has become mechanical and degrading; he often labours under unhealthy and dangerous conditions, and is poisoned, maimed or slain; and he is often fed and housed not so well as horses and dogs are. For his help, the crumbs of a niggardly, but expensive, Poor-law relief, and a degrading Charity, are flung to him.

9. We conclude, then, that Slavery, in principle, remains to be abolished. Also, that it is of the highest importance for the welfare of all, the rich no less than the poor, that this be done; for the injury of one is the injury of all, and evil returns upon the doers of evil. The corruption of their natures is the punishment of the Rich for their oppression of the Poor.

## CHAPTER III.—LAND.

1. The use of Land is the first necessity of every human life. Even if we do not cultivate the fields or dig in mines, we must have land to live, work, and move upon.

It is desirable for the welfare of Society that every person's labour should be turned to the best account. It therefore follows that all must have land to use, according to their capacities and needs. That is to say, the holding of Land by individuals must be upon the principle of Use-possession.

2. In direct and complete violation of this principle, under our present System, the Land of this country has become the Property of, at most, about a three-hundredth part of the population—of 1 person out of every 300. This small minority has unlimited control of what is absolutely necessary to the lives of the rest of the people. They Monopolise the Land.

3. Before these Landlords will permit their land to be used, they demand Rent for it. That is to say, the Users of Land must give part of their produce to the Landlord, in return for permission to Use the Land. The result is that, as we have before seen, about one-sixth of the whole national income, or £220,000,000, goes to this small Class of Landlords.

4. The Landlords do not work, and they are kept in idleness and affluence. Useless themselves, they consume an enormous proportion of the Wealth which others produce. Their chief activity is displayed in shaping the Laws which secure their privilege. The preservation of the Land-laws is the peculiar function of the House of Lords; in which function, however, they are ably seconded by the Commons.

5. The system of land-letting is this. The Tenant agrees to pay to the Landlord a certain Money-rent for the Land. (It may be a farm, a mine, land with a house on it, or a water-privilege). If he be unable, through any chance, to pay this Money-rent, the Law empowers, and carries out by force if need be, his expulsion from the place, and the seizure of his goods.

The Landlord is in no way bound to use his land for the general good, or to use it at all. He can, therefore, withhold it from use until he is offered the Competition-rent which he considers is the most he can get.

6. In a thickly-peopled country, this competition-rent of farm-land is always close down to the point which leaves only the barest subsistence for the cultivator of the soil.

7. The Rent of Labourers' houses in town and country is always as much as can possibly be taken out of their wages. Sometimes, indeed, people who have regularly paid the Rent of their house or room, perish of want; what is left them after paying Rent not being enough to support life. Where wages are higher, house-rents are high; and where wages are lower house-rents correspond.

8. In those thickly-peopled places which are Trade-centres, enormous Rents are charged for the Land, and Rent thus becomes a Tax on Trade.

9. In this country, farm-land is most frequently let by the Landlord to a Tenant-farmer; who employs Labourers, and out of the Profit made from their Labour and his own, pays the Rent. This system puts a double pressure on the Labourer; the Landlord presses the Tenant-farmer for his Rent, and the Tenant-farmer, in his turn, presses down the Labourers' Wages to secure the Rent and his own Profit.

10. The freedom to use the Land as they please permits great Landlords to turn large areas into parks and deer-forests; and enables them to compel methods of cultivation and building, which make for their profit, but do incalculable injury to the community.

The nature of Landlordism is apparent from the history of England under the Tudors; when tens of thousands of yeomen, dispossessed and driven from their lands to make room for the more profitable sheep, were hanged as vagrants.

11. The present Ownership of Land is, historically, based upon conquest, class law-making, fraud, and purchase. Nothing can make wrong, right; or make folly, wisdom. No title to Land can be maintained against the necessity of using Land to equally promote the welfare of every member of the Community.



## CHAPTER IV.—CAPITAL.

1. In the more primitive social conditions, tools are few and simple; methods of production are consequently simple; and but little special skill is required of the Labourer, who can, therefore, easily procure his own tools, and turn from one trade to another. The Labourer is, to an extent, free and independent. To secure the profit of his Labour it is found necessary to have control of his person. This is why Chattel-slavery was universal in former times, and why it still prevails in many barbarous countries. This is also why Serfdom, as part of the Feudal System, tied the Labourer to the soil, and gave him to the Landowner.

2. But under our modern Capitalist System, tools and methods of production have developed into great machines and great organisations; and simple handicrafts are superseded, by innumerable highly-specialised Divisions of Labour, on the one hand, and by drudgery needing no special skill, on the other hand. The Labourer can no longer procure his own tools, nor can he readily perform any but his own special work. To secure the profit of his labour it is no longer found necessary to Own him; Ownership is transferred from him to his tools,—Capital,—and Wagedom succeeds Serfdom, as Serfdom succeeded Chattel-slavery. Himself without Land and without Capital, the Labourer is, obviously, absolutely dependent on the Owners of Land and Capital.

3. By means of our Property Laws, which permit Unlimited Ownership, Monopoly, a comparatively few persons have become Owners of the national Capital. All is theirs except a few Government and Municipal under-

takings, such as the roads, telegraphs, a few instances of gas and water supply, tramways, etc.; and a few Co-operative factories and shops. Manufactories, plant, means of transit, warehouses, docks, shipping, business and trade organisations, are all surrendered to Monopoly.

4. The result is, that the Labourer must sell himself, if not to the Landlord, then to the Capitalist. As from the Landlord, so from the Capitalist; the price he receives, his Wage, is a mere subsistence. Labour being in constant over-supply, the competition of the needy unemployed enables the maintenance of this Subsistence-wage; which is only slightly advanced upon, in certain trades, by Trade Union combination.

5. The Capitalist class, as we have seen, are estimated to receive £270,000,000 a year, or one-fifth of the national income. This is paid to them as Interest, or Rent of Capital. Besides this, the larger part of the £360,000,000, which is received by the Mercantile and Professional Class, goes to Capitalists who employ their Capital themselves, and receive their return for its use in the form of Trade-profits. The whole annual sum paid purely as Interest and Profit to the Capitalist Class, cannot be less than £500,000,000 per annum. They and the Landlords, together a tenth of the population at most, take more than half the annual income.

6. Capital is made by Labour. Yet the Labourer may not freely use what he has made; an idle Class monopolise it; and that Class is idle and affluent by reason of their monopoly.

7. Capital is perishable. The Means of Production wear out, and must be renewed. Labour is continually renewing and increasing Capital; and the Capitalist Class still monopolise both the renewed Capital and its increase.

8. It is by our Property Laws that Capital, like Land, is given into the Unlimited Ownership of a Class. Leases, agreements, contracts, bargains are made by the

Capitalist, under which he secures his Interest and Profit. Those leases and so forth, have the whole power of the Law, the civil and military forces of the State, behind them; their execution is assured, in the last resort, by physical compulsion. The Capitalist's absolute control of Capital is evidenced when, by the will of a single individual, hundreds, or maybe thousands, of workers are "locked out," and the factory gates are held against them by police and soldiers. Here is naked Monopoly; the will of one man, who seeks his private profit, overrides the will of the people. His luxury is at stake; their bread is at stake; and the Laws fight for him.

9. We have found it desirable that the Means and Methods of Production used, should be those which will produce the most Wealth with the greatest ease and benefit to the Labourers who use them.

But under our System, where the Means and Methods of Production used are such as the Capitalist Class consider most profitable to themselves, men, women, and children are either overworked or stand idle; deadly-dull mechanical tasks stunt their bodies and minds; poisonous processes ruin their health; preventable accidents maim and slay them; ugliness surrounds them in their work, as in their homes; they are the slaves of the machines and methods which Rent, Interest, and Profit ordain shall be used.

10. Further, all manufacture being controlled by the Capitalists, whose aim is their own Profit, it results that the true needs of the Community are not studied by them in Production. Hence the manufacture of articles of false Wealth, or Illth, and of articles of Wealth inferior in Quality, imperfect for Use, wanting in Beauty.

11. We conclude, then, that Unlimited Ownership, Monopoly, of Capital, going hand and hand with the same system applied to the Land, completes the enslavement of the Labourer, diverts Wealth from the many who make it to the few who control it and vitiates our whole System of Production.

## CHAPTER V.—DEMAND.

1. Demand causes and governs Production. All articles are produced to meet a Demand that exists, or is supposed to exist, for them.

It is clearly desirable that Demand should be for articles of Wealth of the best Quality and greatest Use and Beauty,—that is, Demand should be healthy. It should also cover everything that can satisfy a proper need,—that is, it should be Full. Such is true Demand.

2. This true Demand needs a quick and accurate means of expression; so that Production may meet it without delay, and without waste or shortage.

3. Demand under our present System is neither Healthy nor Full. The reason is, that people can only Demand the things for which they can pay. In the language of the Political Economists, present Effective Demand is governed by Purchasing-power. People with little money can only effectively Demand—that is, buy—inferior and improper articles, these being the cheapest; stale meat and coarse bread to feed them; shoddy to clothe them; and adulterated strong drink to amuse and console them. Idle, rich people fill their vacant lives by purchasing extravagant pleasures, unwholesome luxuries, and the menial, and worse than menial, services of other men and women.

4. Present Demand, then, is only expressed through Purchasing-power. It is expressed neither quickly nor accurately; hence arise the irregularities of our Production, which is sometimes in excess of the Demand, sometimes under. Hence, also, many articles are produced

which supplant more suitable articles; in such cases Supply influences Demand; that is to say, people must put up with what they can get.

5. Farmers, manufacturers, and traders seeking for Rent, Interest, and Profit, do not study true Demand; but they make and supply those things which they consider will bring the most gain to themselves. They study, not what is needed, but what can be sold with greatest Money-profit.

6. It is obviously necessary for the welfare of the Community, that some better means of expressing Demand be found than present Purchasing-power affords. We have agreed that Distribution must be made according to the needs of each; the Purchasing-power of each individual must, therefore, be made to accord with his needs; or, if this be impossible, it is desirable that some other means of expressing Demand be found, which will express the needs of such individuals, and enable Production to meet those needs.

7. A further consideration arises. Supposing the Demand of each member of the Community were fully and accurately expressed, it might be that this Actual Demand would prove to be not True Demand. That is to say, if people could have what they like, some at least might want things which are not good for them.

On this point, we may safely conclude that the mass of the people, corrupted and depraved under their present conditions, could not, at the moment of their liberation, develop a True Demand. They could only do so after receiving education and experience of the good things of life.



**PART IV. PRESENT DISTRIBUTION  
EXAMINED.**

## MAMMON.

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I prayed, and cried, "O God, I would have sight  
Of that dark Power, unseen of thoughtless eyes,  
Whose strong delusions and veiled sorceries  
In earth, make right seem wrong, and darkness light!"  
Then was I led, by ways that pierce through night,  
To a hell-lighted cavern, where he plies—  
That Prince, wound in whose mesh the whole world  
lies.  
And one said, "Ask; God bids him speak aright."

"Tell me thy race," I cried. "My sire is Greed,  
My dam is Ignorance; in skill of wrong  
Fraud and Fear tutored me; for my lust's need  
I grind the weak and grovel to the strong.  
Nations of lost souls, ruined empires, tell  
The labours of the subtlest lord in hell!"



## PART IV.     PRESENT DISTRIBUTION                   EXAMINED.

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### CHAPTER I.—FACTORS OF DISTRIBUTION.

1. Under a System which first considered the well-being of the Community, the present excessive centralisation of Production would necessarily disappear. But even then, the proper utilisation of natural advantages would necessitate Centres of Production, as in the coal and iron industries; and the advantages to be derived from combined and organised Labour, and the use of machinery, would also create a certain centralisation. From these Centres of Production, Distribution must be made.

2. An ideal System of Distribution would require a national—indeed, an international,—SYSTEM OF EXCHANGE, based upon a SYSTEM OF ADVICES, by which the needs, the Demand, of the various sections of the Community might be quickly and accurately made known at the Centres of Production; thus harmonising Demand and Supply. To carry out Distribution, MEANS OF TRANSIT, STORAGE, and DISTRIBUTING POINTS are required; and these must be so arranged that, throughout the Community, abundant articles of Wealth are freely accessible to all.

3. In present Distribution, we find a System of Exchange carried on by merchants and traders; we have our Means of Transit in roads, canals, railways, ships, etc.; and we have Storage and Distributing-points in warehouses and shops.

4. But there is a further factor in our Distribution which we do not find necessary for ideal Distribution. It is Money. Wealth is not now distributed according to the needs men have, but according to the Money they have; and we find that men's needs, and their supply of Money are, in most cases, extremely disproportionate.

Let us, then, consider this subject of Money; the Distribution of which determines the Distribution of Wealth.

## CHAPTER II.—MONEY.

1. In primitive Societies, where Production is limited and uncentralised, Exchange is casual only, and is effected by Barter; that is to say, by the direct Exchange of articles of Wealth.

2. But as Production extends, a more convenient method of Exchange than the extremely inconvenient Barter is sought for. This is discovered in the use of Money. It is found by experience that the metals are valuable to all; they can be cast into easily portable pieces, and they can be kept any length of time. For these reasons coined metal comes to be accepted by all, in exchange for the articles they dispose of; the sellers knowing that they can at any time get such articles as they want in return for their Money. Thus it at length comes about, that in highly complex Societies like our own, nothing can be had without Money; Selling and Buying being the only means of Exchange.

3. As the medium of Exchange, the function of Money is nothing more than to keep account among the individuals composing the Community. Money, then, is simply a medium for expressing the values of the various articles of Wealth, and for effecting their Exchange.

4. But Money itself, being found cumbersome and inconvenient for effecting large exchanges, a system of paper money, bank notes, cheques, and credit, operated through banks, has arisen to supplement its use. The currency of these, however, depends entirely upon whether they are good for the money-value they bear upon them. Practically, Money, as distinguished from Paper-money, is now used chiefly for retail transactions.

5. We have now to examine the causes of the extremely unequal circulation of Money, and the consequent unequal Distribution of Wealth.

Wealth being only obtainable by Money-purchase, the getting of Money becomes the first object of men's efforts. The spectacle of the deprivation and suffering caused by poverty, by the want of Money, stimulates in men an excessive desire for Money as the means of escape. This desire is further intensified by the spectacle of the ease, power, and security obtained by riches, by abundance of Money.

6. We have already considered the means employed by the various classes of Society to obtain Money. The Rich, the Propertied Classes, have monopolised Land, Capital, Trade, and (so-called) Education. For the use of these, they levy a Money-tax on the rest of the Community, in the forms of Rent, Interest, Profit, and professional Fees and Salaries. Their right to levy these Money-taxes is established by Law, and assured by the whole force of the State. The rest of the Community are reduced to selling the Labour of their hands and brains, for what Money-wages these will bring. Exceptional skill, either of hand or brain, brings an exceptionally high, sometimes an excessive, price or wage. But the vast majority, as we have seen, receive only the Subsistence-wage, which is the result of the competition for employment on the part of the propertyless Labourers.

7. Land, Capital, control of Trade, and (so-called) Education, can be bought for Money. When a man obtains money in sufficient quantity, he "invests" it in the purchase of Land, Capital, Business, or Education, and takes his place in the Propertied Class.

8. Though a few individuals are continually going up, or down, between riches and poverty, the division of the two Classes continues, nay, increases, through the frantic struggle for Money and Property.

9. So far in the world's history, it has been the practice for the strong to rob the weak. Chattel-slavery, Serfdom, and Wagedom, are the three forms which this robbery has taken. Under Chattel-slavery and Serfdom, the labourer's product went directly into the owner's house and barns. But, as we have seen, Wagedom does not necessitate the ownership of the Labourer himself and the direct appropriation of the produce of his Labour. By using Land, Capital, Trade, Education, and Ability, to secure the control of Money, the Propertied Classes are able to obtain for themselves the whole of Wealth, except the Subsistence necessary to keep the Labourer alive, and induce him to propagate.

10. The facts, and their bearing, are understood by but few people. Many who profit by the system imagine themselves to be good and worthy members of Society, while every act of their daily business lives is directed to the injury of Society. Many such people make profession of belief in a Religion which, in its origin, struck at the very root of the System which they uphold.

### CHAPTER III.—EXCHANGE.

1. Under an ideal System, the aims of Exchange would naturally be to accurately and quickly express true Demand, and to Distribute quickly and economically.

2. Our System of Exchange, carried on by Buying and Selling for Money-profit, is very far from expressing true Demand. In consequence of the unequal Distribution of Money, Demand on the part of the Poor is neither full nor healthy; on the part of the Rich, Demand is excessive and wasteful. And this improper Demand is imperfectly expressed. It waits upon the manufacturer and trader, until they shall have concluded whether it is to their private profit to supply needed articles. Thus, an article may be in demand, and is not supplied, because it will not yield Money-profit.

3. In Distribution under this System of Exchange, the utmost waste of time and material prevails. Railways, steamships, and the telegraph afford formerly unimagined facilities for speedy Distribution. These facilities are, of course, utilised, but their utility is enormously impaired by the fact that they are speculatively used for private profit, and not advisedly used for the public good. Witness the running of unfilled trains, the sailings of unfilled steamers, the enormous distances goods are carried unnecessarily, the labours of packing, handling, and warehousing; all which would be vastly reduced under a reasonable system that made the most of its resources.

4. The excessive folly of our Economic practice may be instanced in a case like the following. A Labourer in some English country village rears a pig, which he, in

due course, kills, cures, and sends to the London market, as he cannot afford to eat it in his own family. He could raise more pigs, but although the land about him is only about one-third cultivated, he is not allowed to get more out of it. This Labourer, for his own family use, buys from the village grocer American bacon, grown 5,000 miles away, and railed to Chicago, where the pig is killed, cured, boxed, and railed to New York. There the bacon is loaded and shipped to Liverpool, where it is warehoused; then it is railed from Liverpool to Birmingham, and supplied from Birmingham to the village grocer.

5. This is a fair illustration of the whole System. The madness of a people could not well go further. We neglect the natural resources at our very doors; we perform a vast amount of unnecessary labour; we neglect to do useful labour; and in the midst of plenty, we stint and starve the mass of the people, while debauching the Rich. But few people are allowed to walk the desirable middle course between poverty and riches, enjoying the food convenient for them; and even these are tormented with uncertainty and fear.

## CHAPTER IV.—MONEY-COST.

1. Our present System of Exchange by Buying and Selling for Money-profit, is deliberately based upon the maxim, "Buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest market." This is a disastrous perversion of the true principle, which is, "Produce to the best advantage, and distribute where most needed."

2. The practice of the former maxim results in Competition; which entirely destroys from men's minds all true conceptions of just dealing; and has brought about an unreasoning scramble, in which each tries to get the most, and give the least.

3. Buying and Selling are supposedly based upon the principle of exchanging equal values. The article which A sells to B is supposed to be of the same value to B, as the money which B pays for it is to A. This is the idea of a "fair price," and honourable business men are supposed to deal at this "fair price." But this does not, and, under our system, cannot represent true Cost, and true Value.

4. The true Cost of an article is, as we have seen, the Labour used in producing it. Its true Value is the subsequent worth in use. Under the present System, true Cost is perverted into Money-cost, and true Value into Market-value.

5. The Money-cost of an article is a simple addition of all the various items of Money which it has cost during Production and Distribution.



The Money-cost of, say, the overcoat you buy, may be roughly analysed as follows:—

Wages of Labour .....	29	shillings (about one-third)
Rent .....	12	„
Interest and Profit .....	34	„ (about two-thirds)
Government Taxes .....	5	„

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Total ... .. 80 shillings.

6. Under a just System, the twenty-nine shillings of Wages would represent the full Cost of the coat. Under the present System, that Cost is trebled by the exactions of the Monopolists of Land, Capital, Trade, and (so-called) Education. To express this fact in another way, for every one hour the Labourer works for himself, he works other two for the support of the idle Propertied Class.

7. The universal effort to “buy in the cheapest market,” has a tendency to cheapen every item in the Money-cost of articles; particularly the Wages item. The Labourer, having no monopoly, has no defence against these reductions, but the Monopolists can, in the long run, obtain their own price. This is the reason why, whatever the total amount of the national income may be, its division is always in the proportion of a mere subsistence to the Labourer, and all the rest to the Monopolists. Reductions of Rent, Interest, and Profit, mean practically nothing but a change in the nominal value of Money, so long as the Monopolists have the power to keep Wages down to Subsistence-point.

8. Whether the Money-wages of Labour are kept high or low, is immaterial; under the Competitive System, Monopoly ensures that these Wages shall buy no more than a mere subsistence for the Labourer. Any gain in cheapness of living that may promise to benefit the Labourer, is taken advantage of to reduce Wages with astonishing quickness and accuracy. Any rise in wages

that may be secured is followed by a corresponding increase in the cost of living, and the Labourer is just where he was.

9. In cases where the Labourer's family can help by their work, his Wages are so reduced by competition, that the family must work, or starve. This is the case in agriculture, and in many mill and other industries.

10. There is a continual struggle among Landlords, Capitalists, and Traders, as to who shall have the greatest share of the "Surplus Product"—two-thirds of the whole product,—of Labour. English Landlords desire, by Corn Laws and Fair Trade schemes, to raise Rents; English Capitalists and Traders advocate Free Trade, which will bring cheap food, lower Wages, and enhanced Interest and Profits; American Capitalists seek Protection against cheaper Money-values abroad, in order to maintain and increase their gains. Labour has to pay the price of all this warfare.

## CHAPTER V.—MARKET-VALUE.

1. The Market-value of an article is made to depend not upon true Value, worth in use ; but upon the Money-cost and Supply-and-Demand. Only those articles are supplied the Market-value of which is greater than the Money-cost. The exceptions to this rule are merely mistakes on the part of producers and traders, caused by the speculative way in which trade is carried on.

2. After the Money-cost, the Market-value of articles depends on the Supply. If the Demand is greater than the Supply, the Market-value advances ; if the Supply is greater than the Demand, the Market-value recedes.

3. The results of this are seen in two directions. Firstly, in the enormous Speculation carried on in the necessities of life ; by which the whole course of national and international Exchange is detrimentally affected. Secondly, in the Trade-Monopolies ; by which individuals, or groups of individuals, obtain control of Supply, and use it to their own profit by creating a scarcity and raising prices, as in the case of the great Trusts and Syndicates.

This System of Buying and Selling without reference to true Cost and true Value, and without any real principle of justice, can only be disastrous ; as the evidence of the facts we have considered demonstrates.

4. The crowning abuse of Money is in connection with Exchanges and Bourses, where national interests, the peace of the world, business organisation, and land, capital, and wealth in all their forms, are gambled in, for the profit and amusement of the rich, over the heads of the miserable and oppressed people.

5. For Money, all is sacrificed. It has been said that "Every man has his price," his Market-value, at which he is purchasable. Men prostitute their brains, and women their bodies, for Money; and for Money, the priest will sell you heaven.

The Rich will not see that just living gives infinitely greater happiness than their Money yields them. The Poor blindly believe that Money can help their distress; and they sell their birthright of Justice for the hope of a few extra coins.

## CHAPTER VI.—TAXATION.

1. Under the head of Distribution, it will be convenient to deal briefly with the subject of Taxation.

Our present Social System requires for its support an Army and a Navy for National Defence, Police to keep civic order, Law-officers to administer the Laws, Officials and Clerks to transact business, armies of Labourers of all kinds, and a Royal Family and other sinecurists, to crown the edifice.

2. The Money to pay for these is raised by Taxation, Imperial and Local. The annual total of this Taxation is probably over a tenth of the whole national income; or say, £150,000,000. This is collected, partly from the Rich and Propertied Class, who pay such taxes as the land tax, property tax, and the income tax; and from Society at large; the taxes on alcoholic drink, tobacco, and customs duties generally, falling on members of all Classes.

3. Unending warfare is waged among the Classes as to the share of the taxes which each shall pay. Landlords, Capitalists, Traders, and Professional men,—each class endeavours to shift the burden from its own property and incomes, and put it somewhere else. To the unpropertied masses the conflict matters little. Their Subsistence-wage is scarcely capable of further reduction; and will not be raised while this System of Property-monopoly lasts. If more taxes are levied on the Workers, their wages must rise, or they cannot pay. If taxes are taken off their shoulders, (if the beer and spirit tax were

abolished, for instance), Wages would fall to the extent of the relief afforded.

4. The vital question as to Taxation is not, Who pays the taxes? but, Who does the work of Government? We answer, the Workers. Many hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children spend their labour as soldiers, sailors, shipbuilders, mechanics, clerks, tailors, sempstresses, and in countless other callings, for the service of Government. In short, all branches of industry contribute to the carrying on of the Government.

5. All that the payers of the taxes do is to permit so much Labour to be diverted from their service, to the service of Government. The Propertied Classes are willing that this should be done; because such a Government as ours is necessary to the preservation of Private Property, and of that peace which is no peace. Such a Government is also necessary to protect the so-called "National" Interests abroad, which are wholly class interests. Foreign Empire and Foreign Trade are of small concern to the Worker; his Wealth is to be sought in free access to the Means of Production; which is now denied him.

6. The Propertied Classes are in entire possession of the Government. They fill both Houses of Parliament, and their representatives occupy every office of the least importance. The Class System is reproduced in every branch of Government; in the Army, Navy, Civil Service, Law, and so forth. Highly-paid and leisured officials are at the head; the rank and file of Government employés do the hard work, mostly on the Subsistence-wage.

7. If the compulsion of Law were withdrawn from taxation, most people would cease to pay taxes. The Classes, however, for their protection, take care that this compulsion is maintained, even upon themselves. But, certainly, nine-tenths of the people pay taxes only on compulsion. Yet there are many social institutions such as

churches, and trade unions, to which the people contribute their time and money, largely and voluntarily.

Clearly, the benefits of our present Government are not obvious to the majority of those who live under it. Otherwise they would willingly pay taxes without compulsion.





## **PART V. REFORM.**

## LOVE-LAND.

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I dreamed I came into a land  
Of wise and honest people ;  
No palace raised its fences there,  
No church set up its steeple.

The sight of any wretchedness,  
Or thing unlovely, missed me ;  
Delightful women welcomed me,  
And kind as sisters, kissed me.

There was no crime in all their coasts,  
Though all that land was lawless ;  
No critics, and no schools of art,  
Yet all their work was flawless.

I loved them with a love like theirs,—  
A love that had no measure !  
I gave great thanks to God for them,  
And wept with dreadless pleasure !

## PART V. REFORM.

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### CHAPTER I.—A SUMMARY.

1. We have based our considerations upon the principle that Society should be governed so as to equally promote the welfare of each member. To this end, we find it needful that each individual shall work, with his best ability, in the way that will most promote his happiness, and the full development of his faculties. We also find it needful, that the Wealth thus produced by Society, shall be distributed to each individual according to his need.

2. We have found that these principles, so reasonable, and so desirable in the true interests of each one of us, are violated to an extreme in our social practice. The Means of Production and Distribution, without which men cannot labour, and therefore cannot live, are in the absolute control of a small Class, who use their Monopoly to divert to themselves the whole product of Labour, except the portion which is necessary to keep the Labourers alive and working.

3. This, we have seen, is brought about through the Property-laws; which are made and maintained by the Monopolist Class, who control the Social Organisation. This Class is able to maintain its position and privileges by Force, in the name of Law. Soldiers and police, recruited from the propertyless Working Class, are used to uphold the "Rights of Property;" and not understanding what they do, these tools are made the instruments of oppression upon their fellows.

4 We are agreed that the present terrible social condition, this state of things which needs Force to uphold it, cannot be desirable in itself. Desirable conditions must, of necessity, be such as men will support of their freewill.

If we desire to bring about a reformation of Society, clearly our attack must be directed upon the existing Property-laws; in place of which we must create a Property System that shall be established in the goodwill of the Community, and enforced by peaceable means.

Let us now consider the means and the possibilities of achieving such Reform.

## CHAPTER II.—VIOLENT REVOLUTION.

1. The history of every bygone civilisation that is known to us, may be described as a history of the rise of Class-government and Monopoly of Property, and of decline and collapse under the oppression and misery resulting from these. The conditions under which we live to-day are not singular; the world has seen similar conditions, time and again, during ages. Our Property-laws are not incidental to our country, or our times; they are a grievance which has been, and is, common to so-called "civilised" humanity.

2. States and Empires have sunk under oppressions and miseries; but not without struggle to reform and save themselves. And in our day, we, who are on the same downward path, witness in many countries the efforts of wise and good men, and of merely discontented men, to reform and re-establish a wholesome Society. The best use to which we can put our knowledge of **Economics**, is to judge of the remedies which are suggested on every hand, and to help forward those which seem to us to be best.

3. Efforts at Reform may be considered under three heads, namely—1, Violent Revolution; 2, Political Action; 3, Personal Conduct.

4. The first impulse of oppressed peoples, is to **resort to Force**, to kill the oppressors, or to break their power. History is filled with the records of such uprisings.

But the minds of men who suffer under oppression are so disposed that they do not fly to arms until they have

reached the very desperation of want. They allow themselves to be driven to the edge of the grave; only there do they turn. A powerful Class may, and will, revolt against an infringement of their Privileges, (as in the English Revolution, a middle-class uprising); but with an enslaved People it is not so. The People, when desperation is reached, rise in a destroying tide, which nothing stays. So it was in the French Revolution.

5. No Violent Revolution has ever ended oppression. Class uprisings do not seek to end it; their object being to maintain Privilege. Popular Revolutions do not know how to end oppression. We may take it as an established principle, that the struggle and passion of warfare destroy in men the right feeling, the clear judgment, necessary to establish a beneficent social system. Violence begets violence; the successful mob is the tool of the military dictator. Robespierre is the prophet of Napoleon.

Nevertheless, the steps of history have hitherto been through blood and struggle; and it may be that progress has not yet entered the better way of peace.

### CHAPTER III.—POLITICAL ACTION.

1. Many reformers who, more or less, perceive the hopelessness of violent methods, endeavour to improve matters by alteration of Laws, and by changes in the form of Government. Steady and persistent efforts have been made in this direction in England, since the beginning of this century.

2. During this time, numberless Acts of Parliament have been passed, ostensibly to better the conditions of the Working Class. Repeal of the Combination Laws, and of the Corn Laws; Extension of the Franchise; Factory Inspection and Regulation; National Education; Poor Law Reform; these, and other measures, are now Laws of the land. What results from them?

3. This,—that the Working Class is still without Property; still exists on an uncertain Subsistence-wage; is still overworked as ever. If hours of labour are possibly shorter, the intensity of labour is increased; if the sufferings of factory hands are a little mitigated, the burden is transferred to the casual labourers, and the unemployed. The great towns, social cancers, destroy the people with misery and degradation of an intensity unknown a century since. The Classes still wholly rule in Parliament, and control the Government.

It may be reasonably contended that the net advantage gained by Political Action, exists only on paper; save, perhaps, in the one item of National "Education," where possibly\* some little has been achieved. We have,

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\*I say only possibly; the stultification and waste under our "educational system" suggest grave doubt

to-day, as much need of reform, as our fathers had at any time of England's history. What is all that has been done, compared with what is needed? Nothing. Whence comes this failure of political measures?

4. They fail for the reason that Laws to control Property-owners are inoperative while Private Property remains. Passing such Laws is like trying to get rid of an octopus by disengaging one of the creature's many arms at a time. Having loosened one, you pass to the next; while you work at that, the loosened arm regains its hold. The whole body must be dealt with; the vital part must be attacked.

5. A System like ours can only be carried on by unwholesome methods. The methods of injustice and oppression are, and always must be, deceit and corruption; whether known by their plain names, or as "diplomacy" and "conciliation." In the atmosphere of politics, the upright reformer cannot live and work; he loses honesty, purpose, and sight of his ends. It is impossible to fight the System with its own weapons; one cannot touch pitch without being defiled. Those who are most intimate with the Labour movement best know the helplessness of Labour against a corrupt Propertied-Class Parliament; they know that the only possibly successful Political Action is that which will result from the creation of a sound Public Opinion, that shall sweep away the whole present machinery of Government.



## CHAPTER IV.—PERSONAL CONDUCT.

1. Not by Violent Revolution, nor by mere Political Action, can actual Reform be accomplished. The Property-laws, which we attack, are rooted in the thoughts, habits, and beliefs of the majority of men; rich and poor, oppressor and oppressed. Not until those thoughts, habits, and beliefs are changed will Reform come. Ignorance and Selfishness together are the two upholders of the Property-laws.

2. Not understanding that Nature and Labour, if rightly used, can provide a superabundance of Wealth for all; and not understanding that every man's happiness is dependent upon the happiness of those about him; the Covetous and the Proud seek their imagined good in the robbery and oppression of the Poor and the Humble. Force of arms cannot dispel this Ignorance, nor can Acts of Parliament eradicate this Selfishness. Only the light of reason, shining into the dark places of Men's minds, can avail.

3. What is to be done then? There is at least one thing you can do, thoroughly, infallibly. Reform yourself.

In the Society that is to be, which we idealists imagine, certain rules of conduct must needs be observed by each individual. For our own, and for our neighbours' sakes, the Laws of Health must be followed—temperance, cleanliness, and activity. To the same end, the true Principle of Economy must be obeyed,—“Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself,”—“From each according to his capacity, to each according to his need.” Only

persons who are simple, truthful, kind, and unselfish, can obey these Laws. Through disobedience to these Laws, our Society is perishing; the only hope of salvation is in returning to them. There is one person—yourself—whom you can at once bring to that allegiance. In your own person you can set an example of the true life. By example and precept you can win others to the truth.

4. "But," you ask, "must I cease to struggle for Money and Property, as other men do? Must I refuse the aid of the Law, in defence of my Rights and Property? Must I act with goodwill towards men who maintain this hateful system? Must I practise these ideal principles, in a Society which lives by precisely opposite principles? For if I do these things I take my life in my hands; I become a sheep among wolves."

5. The answer you will give to these questions will depend upon your conception of the purpose of your life. Economic principles are, as we have seen, governed by Moral considerations. Morals are, finally, dependent upon our conception of the solution of the great mystery—What is to become of us hereafter? That is, Morals are based upon Religious Belief. Which is as much as to say, that Economic questions are, finally, Religious questions.

THE END.

## APPENDIX.

BECAUSE this book points to the Spirit of Man as the source for the solution of all questions affecting his Body, a general impression has resulted that I am essentially impractical in my proposals. To correct the impression, where such correction may be necessary, I may remind readers that for eight years, my entire life has been given not only to spreading the teaching of "The Anatomy of Misery," but to one continuous series of practical efforts in Politics, Trade Unionism and Co-operation; even to sharing in manual labour such as is the lot of the mass of men. If any man can claim to speak out of theory *and* practice, I may.

In view of what is before us in the imminent General Election, I have wished to join with this book the best and clearest indications for a programme of reform, practicable in the present situation. The following letter from Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace, F.R.S., goes far to fulfil my desire. In my reply to Dr. Wallace, which is appended, I have sought to remove the misconception under which the Christian "Non-resistant" inevitably falls. In the "Review of Reviews" for August of this year, where Mr. W. T. Stead does me the honour of criticising "The Anatomy of Misery" at length, the same misconception is apparent. Its removal is effected simply by discriminating between the *Administrative* and *Coercive* functions at present confused in Government. To just and rational Administration, the Christian commits himself in his labour of leavening the world with the Kingdom of Heaven; Coercion and all that savours of it, he discountenances, and for himself rejects. With this explanation I commend Dr. Wallace's position to the reader.

*Letter from Dr. A. R. WALLACE.*

PARKSTONE, DORSET,

*July 4th, 1900.*

MY DEAR MR. KENWORTHY,

I look upon Tolstoy as the greatest Social Reformer of the Century and the most Christ-like man.

I have read through your articles on "The Anatomy of Misery." They are admirable, forcible and clear. I agree fully with them except the conclusion, which I find unnecessarily weak and hopeless. Surely there are *two* modes of action, either of which would bring about the "Co-operative Commonwealth"—the abolition of the rule of Capitalists and the abolition of private property in the nation's industry.

The first is, by the systematic extension of the Co-operative movement, the workers and Trade Unions devoting all their savings and accumulations of capital to establishing all kinds of *productive* industries themselves for their *own consumption*; thus absorbing first, all unemployed labour power, then *withdrawing labour* from the capitalists. This, if systematically pursued, would I believe in 50 years transfer the whole production of the necessities and comforts of life to the workers themselves.

The next method is by the whole body of workers using their voting power to return representatives who would carry certain great reforms.

(A) Nationalize the *railways* and *land*—paying all existing owners a *life-income* only.

(B) Adopt the principle that the *unborn have no property rights* and abolish *inheritance*.

(C) Give to all children in future "equality of opportunity" to its *fullest extent*.

Voluntary and universal Co-operation would inevitably follow!

Both these methods are possible with men and women *as they are*. It only wants systematic *education*, and a body

of energetic leaders, to bring them about. I prefer the second method as the more *direct* and immediately practicable.

I feel sure *you* must see the practicability of these or of some modifications of them. Why not adopt *some* such scheme of *your own*, not the weak and utterly useless plan of each *one* trying to live up to an *ideal* which you admit *only* a very small minority can ever attempt—and even they will effect practically *nothing*.

My work in these social matters has been very small—except as to Land Nationalisation, which I have now left behind. I am now passing through the press two volumes of my Review Articles, &c, under the title “Studies, Scientific and Social,” which will comprise a few Socialistic Essays not before published, and which I hope may do a little for the cause. When that is out I have to prepare a new edition of my “Wonderful Century,” and after that, if I live, I have promised my son and daughter to write an Autobiography of my early life.

When these are all out you will have the materials for writing anything you like about me ; but I really think you had better employ yourself in devoting all your powers to the *main problem*, of how to reform our rotten Social System which you have so forcibly described.

I see in your book “From Bondage to Brotherhood,” you do, in the last chapter, propose or suggest Co operation, but from a hasty perusal it seems too vague. To me any exposition of *evils* without showing that there *is* a *real, thorough, practical* REMEDY, is all waste of time. Hundreds of such books have been written, and where are they, and what good have they done? “The Bitter Cry,” and “Darkest England,” and Booth’s “Statistics” of London, “The White Slaves,” “Life in West London,” &c., &c. *None* of them propose a *remedy*, and they are all a nine day’s horror, and then forgotten! What we want is to insist upon a definite *programme*—like the “five points of the Charter,” and then, in season and out of season, keep

it before the public (as the Alliance has done with drink), especially by debates in *Parliament*. *Agitate! Agitate! Agitate!* Never cease—but let it be for definite *legislation*, *demonstrably* leading one step towards the Co-operative Commonwealth, and the abolition of want. I tried the proposal of “free-bread” in the last chapter of my “Wonderful Century” as a temporary palliative, and I am sure it is a *good* proposal, since it would *demonstrably* abolish *actual starvation*, but nobody had a good word to say for it! I myself would advocate free *bread*, free *coals* and free *house*--the minimum essentials of *life*, far cheaper in the end than poor laws—all to be paid for from the surplus wealth of the rich by a progressive tax on all property above £100,000 till it would absorb all surplus above a million. Then we should have breathing time, for education, agitation and remedial legislation. But while we *talk* and *dream* the poor starve and worse than starve.

Yours very sincerely,

ALFRED R. WALLACE.

## REPLY.

23<sup>rd</sup> July, 1900.

MY DEAR DR. WALLACE,

Your very important letter of July 4<sup>th</sup> has been constantly before my mind as demanding most careful and explicit rejoinder. I should have replied sooner only that I am in the midst of serious complications with my work.

I do not wish this reply to be understood in any other way than as a whole-hearted agreement with your position, and as in sympathy with the immediate practical legislative proposals you set forth, which are quite the best my own mind can discover.

Six to ten years ago, during the then existing semi-crisis of popular discontent and Socialist agitation, I stated and advocated broadcast in the press and from the platform exactly these proposals of yours for the development and extension of productive and distributive Co-operation, and nationalization or municipalization of all material social resources and functions, necessarily beginning with the land.

A recent meeting with Earl Grey, for whose strong furtherance of Productive Co-operation I can find no better epithet than noble, reminded me that behind the ranks of idea-less politicians of the talking order, we have throughout society honourable and practical men who perceive the issue more or less as you have set it out.

If there is to be a party of progress, perceptible and effective in the coming elections, that party must of necessity be one which combines in its care both Trade Unionism and Co-operation; a Trade Unionism which has for its object, not conflict with the employer, but rather the



organization of members into Productive and Distributive Co-operative Societies.

In agitation for this New Co-operation, one word must be borne in the forefront,—Anti-interest. The capital held in these concerns must bear no interest. This to prevent unjust accumulation. And that which is now distributed as dividend or profit must be turned from this misapplication and used to reduce prices or increase wages, or to provide such contingent fund as may be necessary from time to time to cover possibility of loss in business. A long and wide experience in commerce enables me to understand these proposals in their exact business sense; and I make such a suggestion, not as a politician seeking votes, but as a man of business advising his friends as to the best method of conducting their affairs.

In this advocacy of the new co-operation we shall be but reviving, clarifying and furthering the teachings and labours of Robert Owen, Charles Kingsley and the whole industrial movement associated with Chartism.

But all such proposals are in the air so long as our legislation does not, in a quite literal sense, draw them down to earth. That is to say, *free land*, free in Carlyle's sense of use-possession, (the very phrase I have adopted in "The Anatomy of Misery") is the people's first need. To realize this I find in all history no sounder scheme than that of the Mosaic legislation, and of the kindred Lycurgan system in Sparta (minus the Spartan helotage); which Socialised the land by a simple division of the fields into lots suitable for individual, family or even group-communal use; a tenure existing so long as a legitimate use was made of the land. Here is the only means by which the individual can receive the due fruit of his labour.

Among us, for reasons only too well seen, the realisation of such a state of land ownership involves a difficult programme. The first step in that programme, however, must necessarily be such agitation as you plead for; agita-



tion upon the moral and economic aspects of the question which shall arouse such enthusiasm and clearness of perception in the masses that the authorities shall be compelled to move in our direction. Enquiry must be instituted as to :

- (1) The present conditions of ownership of all agricultural lands.
- (2) The conditions of the unemployed in various trades.
- (3) Ways and Means of organising men in their proper callings upon the land of the country.

For if ever the judgment of God was spoken in history, it is spoken to-day, prophesying quick ruin upon the infamous system which has drained the land of its inhabitants and heaped them up in cities.

As Henry George has so perfectly demonstrated in the first section of his "Progress and Poverty" (I commend that part of the book only), morality commands that we should consider the interests of existing owners, whether of land, railways or other resources, as secondary only to a superior interest—the general welfare. Agricultural land is now chiefly held by insurance companies, banks and other mortgage societies, and some new-made capitalists. These interests represent only dishonest inflations of power given through our unjust system of commerce ; and not only may be, but *must* be, ruthlessly sacrificed in their swollen pretensions. Such reasonable and good provision for the holders of these interests as you suggest, must, however, be made.

For the practical political position, this is the programme of the future as I see it, and one to which I commit myself—body, soul and spirit.

But there is one further consideration. This I may state as defence of the conclusion of "The Anatomy of Misery." Through years of every kind of labour for these very

reforms, I perceived that the effectiveness of a man, whether leader or led, depends first, last and wholly, upon his *personal character*. The perfect personal character is one which I speak of to myself as that of Jesus Christ the golden—golden in His purity and brilliancy of spirit. Therefore everywhere and always I preach that gospel which turns men to the source of their life as to a Father, and the central aspiration of which, as far as this present bodily life of man is concerned, is “Forgive us our debts as we forgive those who are indebted to us.” Many years ago, I learnt with amazement from John Ruskin that the word “debts” in this prayer *means* debts, and my business experience taught me that it is the power of law, by which property is held and debts are collected, that enables the landlord, interest-monger and exploiter, to clutch the throats and empty the pockets of their fellows.

Eleven years ago I remarked to William Morris, that I felt the only vote worth casting in Parliament would be for a Bill which should propose “That in such a time after the passing of this Act, all laws relating to debt and contract should be repealed.” “Why,” said Morris, “that would be the revolution!” And such is the fact. This, of course, is pure idealism for our day, but should commend itself to every soul that says the Lord’s prayer.

But here again, as always, rises the need of character. To achieve any of our proposals, as much as to live under the Society that would result from them, men are needed who are first of all men of goodwill, and with that, men of truthfulness at all cost. Such men will concentrate their whole strength, not in the *coercive forces*, but upon the *administrative function*, of government; in that spirit of the Christian Gospel so well understood by Leo Tolstoy, which I have endeavoured to explain and spread among my fellow-countrymen.

I have written so much in furtherance of your letter, hoping that this correspondence will do something to revive

the forces of progress, which are now drooping, strangled by mere party organization and dulled by temporary surfeit of what is mistakenly called "good times."

Thank you for the information about your own work and the facilities you offer me towards my purpose of doing some little justice to a life of such sanity and power for good as your own.

Believe me,

Ever yours sincerely,

JOHN C. KENWORTHY.

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[NOTE.—In "The Daily News" of this 14th August, contributing towards the discussion, now proceeding in that journal, upon the condition of the Liberal Party, appears a letter of mine under the heading "Ruskin and Reform." Another letter in furtherance of this having appeared, I trust the Editor may be disposed to prolong the discussion in the direction I have sought for it, and that serious reformers may once again find the "Daily News" where it stood twenty-five years ago,—in the forefront of practical Liberalism.]



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